3. Power

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Power within the tribal community at the time of my stay in Namaland, was, as it had been for generations, in the hands of a chief, gao-aob or ǂgao-b, a "captain," and of a council of older men, with whom the captain discussed all important matters, sometimes leading in an arrogant way, sometimes led by the others, according to his personality. The right to sit in the council is not tied to specific conditions. Ability, experience and age qualify one. But in many particulars this ancient Hottentot form of government is today strongly influenced by the Cape Dutch models and Christian elements (cf. the followers of Hendrik Witbooi) (73).

73. H. v. François, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

If the Hottentot kraals which are under one captain are far apart, the captain places a relative as a kind of governor in charge of the distant one. In this way the ruling family branches out into clans that are widely separated and distinguished by special names (frequently borrowed from their ancestors). The Topnaars differentiate the relations of their capitain in this way: /hai begu, mũ//(e)ĩn and !norabagu.

The decision about war and peace, about migrations and trade relationships, the settlement of legal quarrels and the setting of punishments was, until recently, the authorized power of the captain and of his council. The last attempt at rebellion by the Hottentots against white rule will have completely eradicated the native form of government. With Hendrik Witbooi, in his own way a respectable person, its last representative has departed.

C. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the Foreign Races in their Home and Neighborhood

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This relationship will only concern us briefly and only in its personal aspect, to the extent that it adds to the picture of native character.

It is assumed without argument that the Hottentots have given expression to their own pride in the phrase by which they call themselves, [322] elevating themselves above all other people: Kʔoĩ-kʔoĩn, "people of peoples," in the same glorifying sense that we use when speaking of the "Book of Books." This concept must be modified. If one asks a Hottentot: "mã !haos kʔoētsa?", i.e. literally "A man of what tribe are you?", he answers

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family surname. That of the */Gari /Nagaman*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the */Neisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Beukes. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooi as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

Political Institutions

642 Like most other aspects of their culture, the political organization
177 of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent the signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original form of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts of the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kolb, who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots more fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 He states [1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *kouqui*
619 or *khoequa*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The normal heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failing
622 a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a brother or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at his accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains" of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the people, and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogatives.
[5N] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for the "captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while the broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on some suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for the wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women, and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record of any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so that the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched for.

643 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. He
619 led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and he presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governing
622 body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen of
645 all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summoned by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importance arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, disputes

[1] *Reize ... Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 42–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 320–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority.

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognised headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal.

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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643 554 [229] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 649 649 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organization of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, II, 111.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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autonomous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have occupied in the original conditions of native life.

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As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

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The political organization of the Naman was in all probability originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Orlams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 100–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 218–21; Kolbe, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 317–91; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72–3, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Thorbeck, *Grosse Namaqualand*, 33–4; Olpp, *Augra Pequena*, 24; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 320–4; Schreiber, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Vedder, "The Nama," 141.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, op. cit., pp. 218.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," [illegible].
[3] Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1821, pp. [illegible]; cf. Alberti, Account of S. Africa, etc.

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Hottentots (*/Hei //Khauan*) are also derived from this tribe, as their names indicate.[1]

It appears from the early records that the greater number of the Cape Hottentot tribes were more or less connected with the *//Khauan*, and acknowledged this tribe as paramount over them. Its principal branch in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Chainoqua, whose chief Soesoa or Sousa visited the Dutch settlement in 1660. Of his reception there by the other Hottentots Stow says, paraphrasing the official records[2]: "Sousa was held in such awe by those of other clans that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects dared come to trade as long as he remained near the fort. They made way for him, and waited upon him with presents of many cattle, to show the respect they owed to the highest king. That his authority was not merely nominal was shown by the fact of his interference in a quarrel between Choro, the chief of the 'Kora-chouqua, and Gonnema, the captain of a branch of the Cochoqua. They had parted in anger, the former having cunningly taken away the wife of the latter. War was imminent between them, until Sousa, the paramount chief, interfered, and threatened to degrade the one who was in the wrong. Such an acknowledgment of his supremacy by the chiefs of the other tribes would make it seem highly probable that the one over which he ruled represented the main trunk of the Hottentot race, from which all the others have been offshoots."

The early Dutch records throw some light on the political interrelations of the Cape Hottentot tribes. The headmen or "captains" of divisions not long formed recognized the supremacy in rank of the head of the community from which they had branched off, and acknowledged him as their paramount chief, but unless he happened to be a man of stronger character than the others he exercised no real power over them. The petty chiefs, or heads of the local groups or clans, were commonly jealous of one another, and only united their strength in case of extreme danger to all, while on occasion they might even fight amongst themselves. There appear to have been constant jealousies and quarrels between them and between the tribes, with occasional raids upon each other's cattle and eloping with one another's wives. "This latter amusement," says Stow, perhaps exaggerating somewhat, but having a real foundation for his remark, "seems to have been a common occurrence among them, and thus became an endless

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, pp. 7, 19.
[2] Op. cit., 243–4; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., I, 40–2.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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that is, of groups of people claiming to be related in the male line; and that one of these sibs claims seniority. The chieftainship is hereditary in this senior sib and is inherited in the male line. In some cases I have been given traditions of the formation of the tribe, the various sibs claiming relationship with one another in the far distant past, but in no case has it been possible to trace this relationship genealogically. Each sib names itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. The Nama themselves recognize these divisions into tribes and sibs, the tribe being called *!Haos*, and the sibs *!Hoa !Nati*, that is, things within the tribe (*!haos*, tribe; *!ha*, preposition in, turned into a noun by the suffix *s* for the singular or *ti* for the plural).

The sibs of the Swartbooi tribe are as follows: */Gari Gein; /Gari !Nagaman; /Gari ≠Karin; //Neigaman; Geaman; !Garuxen; //Khou Tamaxen; !Ga ei Tamaxen; !Neixe ein; !Oa Gaen.* Two of these sibs are formed by people who were incorporated in the Swartbooi tribe after the break-up of the Groot Doode tribe who at one time lived near the Swartbooia. (The old headquarters of the Swartbooi tribe were at Rehoboth. The tribe fled from there during the Africaner war with the Herero, and fought its way northwards to Franzfontein during the eighties of last century.)

Of the other sibs it will be noticed that three among them have the same name, */Gari*. The name */Garib* is still found among the Nama as a name of a person. The sibs are the big (*Gein*) */Garin*, the next (*!Nagaman*) */Garin*, and the little (*≠Karin*) */Garin*. Now, it is the Hottentot custom for all sons of a woman to have her name, and they are distinguished from one another by just the epithets used here, the eldest being called the big one (*geib*), the second the next one (*!nagamab*), the third the dark one (*≠naib*) or the light one (*/haib*) or the tall one (*gaxab*), and so on, while the youngest will be called the little one (*≠karib*) or the young one (*≠aixa*).

The legend of the Swartbooia themselves is that they separated from the *Gei //Khawan*, the parent tribe, under the leadership of the */Garin* family, and that the three leaders became the ancestors of the three chief sibs of the tribe. The *//Khou Tamaxen*,

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614 621 [591] the //*Neigaman*, and the *!Gurusin* are said to be sibs descended from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

● 622 614 When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the */Gari Geis* sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the */Gari !Nagaman*. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the elder branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

622 614 551 There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained information. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanabib, who is followed in order by Tsamkau, Tsaugab, Tsauxab, ǂAubib, !Huisib, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then !Huisib's son !Habib Abraham Swartbooi, then !Habib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son !Habib ǂami, and now the latter's son !Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, !Hara Geib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

614 551 It is interesting to note that the */Gari !Nagaman* are beginning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves *Tsauxan*, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these *Tsauxan* the members of which call themselves */Oa Gaon*, which means the younger branch of the chief's (*gaob*) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

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information given to us by the early travellers among the 361
tentots.

In the old days a Nama encampment was in the form of a great
le. The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn in
ch there were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the
th. Within this fence, round the circumference, were the huts
he *!Haus*, or tribe. There might on certain occasions be a
ole tribe encamped in such a manner, and, in any case, there
e usually some representatives of each of the sibs at the chief's
dquarters, though there might be other encampments in other
ts of the tribal territory. In the great open space in the centre
cattle were herded at night. Special kraals were made for the
ves and the lambs, but neither now nor in the past did the
ttentots make kraals for the cattle or the sheep. These
mals just lie in front of the owner's hut for the night.

The following is the order in which the sibs of the Swartbools 621
nped. In the western portion of the circle stood the huts of the 614
ef's sib, facing east. On his left, as one faces east, came in
er the *!Oa Gaon*, the *//Neigaman*, the *!Gurusin*, the */Gari
ein*, the *!Neise ein*. On his right in order came the *Goamun*,
//Khou Tanasen, the */Gari Gein*, and the *!Ga ei Tanasen*,
eting the *!Neise ein* in the east of the circle. The Topnaars
camped in the order *//Hornibin Gein*, *//Hornibin !Goan*,
rabas, */Ubasen*, */Heibin*, starting from the *//Hornibin Gein*
the west and continuing round the circle to the left.

Through the whole course of Nama history the sib was the
ongest social unit the Nama ever attained. Time and time
ain a strong sib would go off on its own, asserting its indepen-
ence of the others, and sib loyalty was always stronger than
bal loyalty. It is no wonder, then, that the chief among the [622]
ttentots was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was
knowledged to be the head of the senior sib and, if a person of
e character, was accorded a great deal of respect, but the heads [623]
the other sibs acted as his council and he could not do much
thout their coöperation. The whole conduct of affairs, then,
a Nama tribe was, and is, the concern of the older men of the
be.

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De drie eerste volken, als de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas* en *Goringhaikonas*, leggen meest al dicht aen de Kaep, niet boven vier of vijf uuren gaens van het Fort van goeder hope, insonderheit de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, die maer een vierendeel uur gaens verre afgelegen zijn.

GORINGHAIKONAS

De *Goringhaikonas*, of watermans, staen onder eenen oversten, genaemt by hen *Demtaã*, en by d'onzen *Klaes Das*, om dat hy eens op het Dassen eilant gevangen en gebannen zy geweest, over zekeren misdaet, aen de Neerlanders gepleeght; maer is naderhant, door zich zelven wel te dragen, ontslaekt, en in zijne oude heerschappye gestelt. Zy hebben een leger slechts van vier of vijf huizen, zijn omtrent vijftigh zielen, met vrouw en kinderen, in getale sterk, en de armste onder alle de *Hottentots*.

GORACHOUQUAS

De *Gorachouquas*, by d'onzen genaemt Tabaks-dieven, ter oorzake zy op zekeren tijt daer te lande al de Tabaks-planten van zekeren vryen lantbouwer van het velt hebben wegh-gestolen, en noch heden daer in volharden, zijn ontrent drie of vier hondert weer-bare mannen sterk, behalve vrou en kinderen, en erneren zich met schoon vee van schapen en koe-beesten.

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[5]) In Van Riebeeck's "Dagverhaal" (henceforth referred to as D.) and other contemporary records the name also appears in the forms Goringycona, Goeringaycona, Goringhaicoina, etc. Wuras (*Bantu Studies*, iii, 289) interprets it as "children (or descendants)" of the Goringhaiqua (q.v.), from whom they had broken away. Van Riebeeck (*Letters Despatched*, iii, 236) refers to them as beachrangers and fishermen; exclusive of their wives and children, they did not number more than eighteen; they had no cattle, but lived by fishing and collecting, and by doing various menial services for the Dutch. Theal says they were the only permanent inhabitants of the Cape Peninsula at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded in 1652 (*History of S. Afr. before* 1795, ii, 13).

[6]) In the first years of the Cape settlement the accepted leader of the Goringhaikona was the famous Herry or Harry (see below, p. 16n); after his death in 1663 they were nominally under the government of Jan Cou (Theal, op. cit., 187), whose Hottentot name was "Khamy" (D. July 8, 1656). I have been unable to find any evidence in the official records to corroborate Dapper's statement that Klaas Das was the chief of this group. This man with some other Hottentots had "of their own accord" accompanied

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quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karichuriquas, Hosaas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudyns, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

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GORINGHAIKONAS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[3]) are under a chief, whose native name is Demtaä, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[4]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

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GORACHOUQUAS.

The Gorachouquas[1]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 13, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Herry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 18, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1654) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 5, 1660).

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[1]) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Ghorachouquas, Goerachouquas, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 109-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (-khoqua or -khoekwa, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

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from the fields of some free farmers over there;[8]) and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[9]) and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gaking; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

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GORINGHAIQUAS.

The Goringhaiquas[10]) our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[11]) and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Gogosoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[12]). In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the older named Osinghaikanna and the other Otegnoa.[13]) They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Gogosoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[14])

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[11]) van Riebeeck (*Letters Dagr.* iii. 230) gives their numbers as "about 200 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[12]) In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[13]) van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Gogosoa, viz. Oringhkhimma (elsewhere Osinghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khumo, alias Jan; and Otegno, alias Peter (D. Sept. 28, 1660).

[14]) van Riebeeck says of them in this connexion: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Gogosoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yes! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Osinghkamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1. 1661).

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out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort. 728 159

After a short while Gogosoa himself, chief of the Goringhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he too wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.[37]) Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squatting down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of innocence, drank nothing at all, and others only a little. 728 [622] 728 273

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of ha, ho, ho, ho, for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away. 728 152 728 535 [533]

37) The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1662.

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After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;[22a]) but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

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Cochoquas or Saldanhars.

The Kochoquas[22b]) are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

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All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *koehque*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

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however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 248). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 88). They consisted of two divisions, one under Oedasoa, the other under Gonnema; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 28, 1658). Oedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Charigurigquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Oedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Gonnema on the Berg River near the modern Riebeeck Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasture-lands of the tribe next to them (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 488).

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000 en de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, groote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*. Tot zijne hulp heeft hy eenen onder-koning, en noch eenen ander, de derde perzoon in 't Rijk. De *Koehque* of Koning der *Saldanhars* die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestig regeerde, was genaemt *Oldasoã*, zijn onderkoningh *Gonnomoã*, en de derde perzoon in 't rijk *Koukosoã*. d'Onder-Koning *Gonnomoã* wort by d'onzen aen de kaep, de zwarte kapitein geheten, ter oorzake hy altijts zwarter en vuilder in 't aenzicht is bestreken, dan d'andere: is een grof en zwaerlijvig perzoon, getrout aen drie vrouwen, by de welke hy vele kinderen gewonnen heeft; daer nochtans de *Koehque* of Koningh *Oldasoã*, die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, aen een langdurige en quijnende ziekte is komen t'overlijden, noit niet meer dan een eenige vrouwe heeft gehad. Deze *Oldasoã* was een perzoon, frai van leest, welgestelt van leden, en zeer zedigh, die ook noit den onzen de wapenen heeft aengeboden; desgelijx is de derde perzoon in 't rijk tamelijk frai van aenzicht en zedigh van manieren. Koning *Oldasoã* liet eene dochter na, met name *Namis*, goelik en zeer schoon van gedaente, uitgezondert dat zy wat plat van neuze is, gelijk al deze volken zijn.

GROTE EN KLEINE KARICHURIQUAS EN HOSAAS.

De grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas* leggen meest in de dalen en daer ontrent van de Saldanha-Bay. Zy

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●622 [39]) For "Oldasoã" (in the records his name is always spelt Oedasoa) and "Gonnomoã" (whose name also appears as Gonnoma, Ngonnoma, etc.), see above, n. 28. Koukosoa van Riebeeck speaks of as "the chief of Oedasoa's kraals" (D., Dec. 1, 1661), or as "the secunde of his army" (D., Nov. 3, 1660), or as his "chief councillor" (D., Nov. 16, 1661), etc.

624 [40]) Van Riebeeck refers to him as "a niggardly and beggarly fellow, who has most extraordinarily trained his men for the begging business," whereas Oedasoa, "though of smaller stature, is a more stately and commanding man" (D., Nov. 7, 1658). In the first years of contact with the Kochoqua, Gonnoma was believed to be the great chief, and Oedasoa his inferior (D., Oct. 21, 1658; Nov. 7, 1658), but by the middle of the following year their true relationship had been recognised (D., June 28-29, 1659).

622 [41]) Dapper is mistaken here. Oedasoa did not die until 1689 or 1690 (Theal, *op. cit.*, 355); it was his wife who died in 1661 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240).

142 [42]) Van Riebeeck calls her "a beautiful, well-shaped girl, not darker than an ordinarily white Mestiso" (D., Nov. 3, 1660).

619 [43]) Also referred to in the early records as Charingurina, Chariquas, Charinguriqua, Chariguriqua, Gregeriqua, etc. The real name of the tribe, according to Vedder (*Native Tribes of S.W.A.*, 114) was ≠*Kari-huriqua*, i.e. the small (≠*kari*) tribe which lives

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the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoä, his subordinate king Gonnomoä, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoä.[29]) The subordinate king Gonnomoä our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[30]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoä, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoä left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamana," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

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erneren zich, nevens de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, mede met zeer schoon vee, hun eenigste hoop en betrouwen. gemerkt zy in den drogen zomertijt niet anders hebben, dan van hun vee te leven.

Dus verre van de Hottentots, genaemt *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas*, *Kochoquas*, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*, die dicht aen de kaep gelegen zijn; de verre te landwaerts in gelegen, zijn de *Chainoquas*, *Kobonas*, *Sonquas*, *Namaquas*, *Heusaquas* en *Hankumquas*, hoewel eenige de *Kobonas* niet onder de *Hottentots* rekenen.

CHAINOUQUAS.

De volken, genaemt in de lant-tale *Chainouquas*, zyn tegenwoordigh wel drie maenden reizens te lande in geweken, met huis, hof, vrouw, kinderen en vee, en wonen, na het zeggen van d'andere wilden, zeer na by de *Kobonas* lant; doch zijn niet boven de vier hondert menschen in getale, maar rijk van schoon vee.

De *Chainouquas* staen onder eenen overste, genaemt *Sousoâ*, een out man: heeft twee vrouwen gehad doch beide doot: heeft eenen zoon genaemt *Goeboe*, dien zijn rechter been van eenen olifant te pletteren is getrapt, en kan het zelve tegenwoordigh door de verdorvenheit niet ter werelt gebruiken. Wanneer de *Chainouquas* met hunne negerye opbreken, moet deze *Goeboe* op een os zitten, en daer op en afgetilt worden. Zyn vrouw is genaemt *Kamisoâ*.

De kleding van dezen overste *Sousoâ*, is een schoon luipertsvel, met de bevlekste en schoonste zijde na binnen gekeert, en d'onzienlijke vleeschzijde, wel vet besmeert, na 's lant-maniere, na buiten.

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[54]) See below, s.v. *Kobonas* (p. 38).

[55]) Also mentioned in the early records as Chaynunqua, Chaynouqua, Chainouna. Wuras (*op. cit.*, 289) interprets their name as "those who are swollen or puffy in the face". The Dutch first came into contact with them in Sept. 1660, when "a certain new tribe, which had never before seen our people or ships, came down to us; their language, but not their clothing, differs somewhat from the Hottentoos dwelling in our neighbourhood. They are called the Chainouquas", and the name of their chief was Sousa (*Letters desp.*, iii, 182). The latter had "such power, and was so dreaded, that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects nor others would dare to come to us to trade, as long as these Chainouquas were in the neighbourhood; but they would all make

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They
subsist, close to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, upon very fine cattle, their only hope and trust, considering that in the dry summer time they have nothing else upon which to live.

So much of the Hottentots named Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas, Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas, who are found close to the Cape. Further inland are the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas and Hankumquas, although some do not include the Kobonas among the Hottentots.[34])

Chainouquas.

The people named Chainouquas[35]) in the local vernacular are at present withdrawn fully three months' journey inland, huts, women, children, cattle and all; and dwell, according to the statements of the other savages, very near to the country of the Kobonas. They do not number more than about four hundred people, but are rich in cattle.

The Chainouquas are under a chief named Sousoä, an old man, who had two wives, both now dead. He has a son, Goeboe, whose right leg was stamped upon and crushed by an elephant, with the result that owing to putrefaction he cannot now use it at all. When the Chainouquas break up their villages, this Goeboe has to ride on an ox, on to and down from which he must be lifted. His wife is named Kamisoä. The clothing of Chief Sousoä is a fine leopard skin, with the spotted and more attractive side turned in, while the unsightly fleshy surface, well greased according to local custom, faces outwards.

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way for them, and come to greet the king with presents of cattle, etc., to show the obedience they owed to him" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). About 1668 the Chainouqua began to be called Soeswas, Soesequas, Soeswaquas, etc., by the Europeans, though the old chief Sousoa, from whom the new name was derived, had died in 1664 (Theal, *op. cit.*, 185; D., Feb. 23, 1664). In 1673 two leading men of this tribe, "on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw", ceded to the Dutch "the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams and forests, together with False Bay . . . in return for merchandise amounting in value to £300. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 18s. 4d. (Theal, *op. cit.*, 260-261). The principal Chainouqua centres were at Knoflock's Kraal R., a tributary of the Palmiet R., at Bot R., and at Tigerhoek (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 435-6).

[1. The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas.—Ed.]

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NAMA

ivory, in front of their private parts,[44]) and wear a bracelet of the same material on the one arm, as well as many copper rings. The women go about stark naked, having nothing but a small bit of skin tied in front of their pudenda, just like those at the Cape. In the summer they wear on the head, like the Sonqua women, a sunshade of ostrich feathers tied to a stick to protect them against the rays of the sun. Every Namaqua always has hanging from his arm a light and pretty little stool made of wood and cord, without iron or copper, which he carries with him everywhere to sit on.[45]) The government is in the hands of a king named Akambia, who has three unusually tall sons.

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Brygoudys.

Still further inland than the Namaquas live another people named Brygoudys,[46]) of whom but little can be written owing to lack of knowledge, as they have never been found by our countrymen. But according to what our people at the Cape have heard from the Namaquas, they are a numerous people, and as powerful and rich in cattle as all the Hottentots at the Cape. The Namaquas and Brygoudys wage strenuous wars against one another.[47])

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Heusaquas.

The Hottentots named Heusaquas[48]) lie approximately *northwest of the Cape, very far into the interior. Hitherto* our countrymen at the Cape have found out but little about their mode of life and customs, and that only from the descriptions of other Hottentots; for no one has ever come across their settlements, nor have more than three of them

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[44]) Both expeditions to the Namaqua in the early part of 1661 came back with news that the former were on hostile terms with the "Brygoudys" (D., 10/3/61; 23/4/61).

[45]) Also referred to as Heussaqua, Hassaqua, Hussaqua, etc. First mentioned in the Dagverhaal (Sept. 27, 1660) when Eva told Riebeeck of "a certain other tribe called Hessaquas, which we had never before heard mentioned, regular dagga makers of the Hancumaquas . . . Their language differed greatly from that of the Saldanhars, so that they could not understand each other, except through an interpreter." Van Riebeeck mentions them in his final list of tribes, but only to say that they had not yet been at the Fort, except for an emissary from their chief (*Letters despr.*, III, 241; cf. D., Feb. 11, 1661). Their name survives in Hessequas Kloof, in the district of Swellendam, where they appear to have had their grazing grounds, moving gradually further east (see Maingard, *op. cit.*, 454, who also suggests that their name may mean "the men of the woods", from *hoib*, tree, *-se*, adj. ending, *-qua*).

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GOVERNMENT.

Some of the Kafirs or Hottentots are governed by kings, like the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, and others by chiefs, like the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, the Great and Little Karichuriquas and the Hosaas. The other Hottentots living further inland are for the most part either governed by a chief, like the Chainouquas, or, like the Sonquas, live in the wilds without a leader; or, like the Namaquas and Heusaquas, are under a king[42]).

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RELIGION.

No one, however thoroughly he has inquired, has ever been able to find among all the Kafirs or Hottentots or Beachrangers any trace of religion, or any show of honour to God or the Devil. They know nevertheless that there is a being, named by them *'s Humma*[44]), who sends rain on earth, makes the winds blow, and produces heat and cold. But they do not pray to him; for why, say they, should they pray to this *'s Humma*, who at one time gives excessive drought, and at another excessive rain, when they would rather see it fall moderately and conveniently, so that the grass should grow nicely and their cattle and sheep graze abundantly and luxuriously. Moreover they imagine that they can themselves restrain the rain as well as the wind. This they try to do in the following manner[44a]). First, in order to keep away the rain, they lay a small burning coal on a chip of wood in a small hole dug in the ground, and on top of the coal a small tuft of hair pulled out of the head. When it begins to stink they fill in the hole with sand, and then urinate over it, after which they all go away shouting loudly. To make the wind subside and be still, they hold one of their most greasy skins on a long stick

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42) On the political organization of the Hottentots, see Introduction, p. VI.

44) This word is identified by Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 37) with the Nama /*hoesi*, heaven, and is not the name of any particular supernatural being, although the attributes with which Dapper credits *'s Humma* are those of the rain god *Tsui-//goab*. His delightful account of Hottentot scepticism is not confirmed by later writers, who show that actually the Hottentots had a well-developed system of ritual in connexion with the powers of nature.

44a) The two rites which Dapper here describes are not mentioned by other writers. The Namaqua until within recent times had elaborate rain-making ceremonies, and possibly Dapper may have intended to describe a similar ceremony here, for it is unlikely that any South African tribe should have wished to deprive themselves of the all-important source of the water supply upon which they are all so dependent.

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Nama

2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[7]) They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.[8]) They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[9])

3. After them come the *Souseas*,[10]) with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,[11]) who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.[12])

6. The *Honnimas*[13]) are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[14]) both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

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[7]) Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Doman) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1673, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1673-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Soussa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Stir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Idenburg, *V.R.S.* 12, 200 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned 31 July 6, 1688, was head of one of the Gorinhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1673, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoos Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackkay (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince") (I) (Idenburg, *Record*, 218-9). It is interesting to note here, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

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CHAP. XI.

Clothing.

291 The use of woollen garments is unknown to them although they are often vexed by great cold. They use the skins of wild animals, and of oxen and sheep. The clothing of the men, therefore, whether chiefs or commoners, is exclusively of skin, and consists of a coloebum or blanket made of the hide of ox or sheep,* and called by them *karos*. This supplies the place of a bed, of a box, and of almost all furniture. With it they protect themselves from the rain or from the cold. Not but what the garment is sometimes made from panther or goat-skin; and whereas the common [620] folk cover their loins with fox-skin, the chiefs use otter or badger. Nor indeed was Hercules himself, the invincible subjugator of so many peoples, and now enrolled among the Gods, better clad, when *he* sojourned on earth, than with one skin or better companioned than by one club.

When it rains they cover the head with a leather cap, closely fitting on the crown, and rising up to a peak, with flaps on both sides to cover the ears. Round the neck they [415] hang a wallet in which they generally bestow their arrow-heads, but which they sometimes fill with tobacco. Their [309] arms above the elbow they adorn with circlets of ivory on which they sometimes hang their wallets. For the rest they are naked, except that they sometimes protect the soles of their feet with shoes of dried ox-skin. These [262 267] under the pressure of necessity, they devour boiled or roast, sacrificing their footgear to assuage their hunger.

The clothing of the women consists of sheepskin garments, to wit, a cloak and an apron, with which they take more care to cover their private parts in public than [302] the men do. They bind their hair all round with a band likewise made of skin. They rarely go shod, but instead they protect their ankles with rings made of dried withies lying closely one on top of the other. Some think that these rings are made of dried sheep-gut, others that they are fragments of membrane from the fresh hides of oxen twisted into a circular shape.**)

**) Few of the early writers seems to have thought it necessary to investigate closely the exact nature of these rings, about which their statements vary so much that it is difficult to know what to believe. Maxwell's observation is probably the least fantastic: "The women wear skins cut in thongs about their legs to the length of a great many yards, which when dry with the hairs cut look so like sheep's guts that most strangers have mistaken them for such" (*V.H.S.* I, 50).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[*] They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[*] In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Hoinema and his people.[*] From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[*] By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[*]

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with those natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way.[*] Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them bouhoua tabak), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[*] This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headmen of every large Hottentot kraal "kapiteins" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[*] These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[*] See above, p. 111.

[*] This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Goiesema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 500 sheep. (D., July 30, 1673.)

[*] In April, 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Goiesema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claes, to treat for peace" (Memoir, Barrow, 248), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[*] Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XXI.

The Magistrate.

Every little collection of huts recognises its own chief, and the chief generally recognises a superior, and all are called by the one name Captain. The Essequaa, but only they, have a king. The whole government rests on these Magistrates; the subjects venture on nothing of importance on their own initiative, but are always ready to obey the Captain's nod. When they are to move the word is given by the Chief. If they wish to enter upon matrimony, they must obtain the permission of the Chief, obeying his word with complete submission.

CHAP. XXII.

The Law of Nations.

Although, being bound neither by the bonds of God nor of shame, they absolve themselves from law, yet they are often a law to themselves, imitating by blind impulse, under the teaching of dame custom, those things which their fathers before them did. Thus, if a mother bears twins, a male and a female, by the law of their race they kill the latter in the cradle [1]. In this their only point of difference from the Scythians is that they, in the kingdom of the Amazons, killed the males; while they differ from the Carthaginians who early inhabited Africa, in that they sacrificed living boys for preference, and in their innocent childhood, to Saturn.

All the males that are born are immediately at birth deprived of one testicle, so that their barren land may not receive more inhabitants than it can nourish, and, as they add by way of further explanation, so that they may be able to run the more quickly [2].

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as soon as they are born (according to Kirchoff) or at the age of 8 or 10 years (according to others), and that forsooth to make them the more swift and nimble; but how that fancy should come into their heads I cannot tell." (V.R. Gen. I. 11). Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Pritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb (and also Maxwell) may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac (op. cit., 233-4). This observation may well account for the early statements that the Hottentots were eunuchs.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

All the Khoikhoi tribes use the expression *Taras* for woman. We have still the name of *Tradouw*—*i.e.*, *Tara-dadi*—for a mountain-pass not far from Swellendam. *Taras* is the woman, as ruler of the house, the mistress; it is exactly the Middle-High-German *vrouwe*. The root da or ta means to conquer, to rule, to master, and the suffix ra expresses a custom or an intrinsic peculiarity. *Taras* is also a woman of rank, *a lady*. In every Khoikhoi's house the woman, or *taras*, is the *supreme ruler*; the husband has nothing at all to say. While in public the men take the prominent part, at home they have not so much power even as to take a mouthful of sour milk out of the tub, without the wife's permission. If a man ever should try to do it, his nearest female relations will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which is to be added to the stock of the wife. In the house the wife always occupies the right side of the husband and the right side of the house.

If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the gau-tis (contracted from gautaras), the ruling woman—*i.e.*, the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not of age. Thus, the name of an old queen, Xamiis, who ruled the Cauquas (ǂKhauas) at the time of Simon van der Stell, in the present Worcester district, in the valleys of the Breede river, has been handed down to us, and her descendants now live on the outskirts of the Kalihari, where they still rule the tribe, who left the Colony seventy years ago. I mean the Xamiis, or so-called Amraal-family, ruling the Gei-ǂKhauas of Gobabis. Here I must mention a peculiar old custom common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and which proves how well the conjugal ties were already established before the Khoikhoi separation. All the daughters are called after the father and all the sons after the mother. Thus, if the father is Xamiis-ǂ and the mother is ǂ*Arises*, the sons are—

1. ǂAriseb gaib—*i.e.*, ǂArise the big one, or the eldest ǂArise.